

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 EB-08 BIB-01
CU-04 CA-01 HA-05 OMB-01 IO-13 OIC-02 /097 W
-----042848 161416Z /41

O R 161305Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5212
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1281

FOR EUR/RPM, JOHN KORNBLUM, FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- ALLIED CAUCUS ON FRENCH DRAFT
FEBRUARY 16 A.M.

REF: (A) BELGRADE 1262 (NOTAL); (B) BELGRADE 1216 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: FRENCH HAVE THUS FAR AGREED TO ONLY MINOR
CHANGES THAT LEAVE THEIR DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT UN-
SATISFACTORY TO VIRTUALLY ALL ALLIES. ALLIES SUPPORTED
AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S STRONG PLEA AT CAUCUS MORNING OF
FEBRUARY 16 FOR ALLIED UNITY AND FURTHER EFFORT TO
BRING FRENCH TEXT UP TO ACCEPTABLE LEVEL. FRENCH
AMBASSADOR INDICATED LITTLE ADDITIONAL FLEXIBILITY BUT
PROMISED TO CONTACT PARIS. CAUCUS WILL MEET AGAIN AT
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1630 THIS AFTERNOON, AN HOUR AND A HALF BEFORE
FRENCH SAY THEY MUST FILE. IF FRENCH DOCUMENT CANNOT
BE STRENGTHENED, ALLIES WILL BE UNDERSTANDING
OF UNILATERAL U.S. FILING OF CAUCUS DRAFTING GROUP'S
TEXT TODAY OR TOMORROW. THERE ARE INDICATIONS, HOWEVER,
THAT MANY ALLIES MIGHT FIND IT EASIER OPENLY TO SUPPORT OR
COSPONSOR IF THIS STEP CAME EARLY NEXT WEEK AFTER

SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN EXPECTED NEGATIVE RESPONSE TO
FRENCH TEXT. END SUMMARY.

1. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG APPRECIATES TIMELY DEPARTMENT
INSTRUCTIONS. IN VIEW OF TACTICAL SITUATION, HE
INDICATED TO CAUCUS STRONG PREFERENCE THAT ALLIES
FIND WAY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON COMMON DECUMENT.
HE SAID IT WOULD BE VERY UNFORTUNATE FOR POLITICAL
STRENGTH OF ALLIANCE IF THERE WERE TWO WESTERN PAPERS
OUT AND U.S. AND FRANCE WERE SEEN TO BE SPLIT. HE
SAID IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR ALLIES, WORKING IN SPIRIT
OF COMPROMISE, TO STRENGTHEN FRENCH DRAFT SUFFICIENTLY
TO TAKE CARE OF ALLIED CONCERNS, U.S. WOULD BE
WILLING TO SEE FRANCE SERVE AS SOLE SPONSOR OF SUCH
A PAPER. IMPORTANT POINT WAS THAT ALLIES WERE UNITED
BEHIND COMMON CONCEPTION. PARTICULARLY SINCE NO ONE,
INCLUDING FRENCH, BELIEVED THERE WAS GOOD CHANCE
TO BRING SOVIETS INTO MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATION, MAIN
CONCERN SHOULD BE TO STAKE OUT A GOOD WESTERN
POSITION WHICH WOULD BE MODERATE IN CONFERENCE
TERMS, ATTRACTIVE TO PUBLIC, AND A GOOD PROGRAM FOR
MADRID.

2. ALLIED AMBASSADORS INDICATED THAT SMALL CHANGES
AGREED TO BY FRENCH DEL IN MARATHON EC-9 MEETING LASTING
PAST MIDNIGHT HAD ONLY marginally IMPROVED DRAFT.
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MOST RESERVED POSITION THEY WOULD TAKE IN PLENARY,
SAYING THEY CONSIDERED THAT DRAFT REMAINED ON
BALANCE BELOW NNA PAPER, PARTICULARLY IN HUMAN CON-
TACTS, IMPLEMENTATION AND CBMS. FRG AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED
PARTICULAR CONCERN THAT FRENCH HAD NOT AGREED TO MAKE
MORE THAN MARGINAL IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN CONTACTS
TEXT, AND UK AND BELGIAN AMBASSADORS, WHO HAVE
BEEN CARRYING MOST OF LOAD FOR WEST IN RELEVANT
CONTACT GROUP, SAID THEY BELIEVED FRENCH IMPLEMENTATION
LANGUAGE WAS WEAKER THAN WHAT EAST COULD EVENTUALLY
ACCEPT. NORWEGIAN AND TURKISH AMBASSADORS EXPRESSED
PARTICULAR UNHAPPINESS AT SKIMPY CBM SECTION.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1281

FOR EUR/RPM, JOHN KORNBLUM, FROM USDEL CSCE

3. FRENCH AMBASSADOR INDICATED HE HAD LITTLE FLEXIBILITY. HE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT GISCARD WAS MAKING APPEAL TO BREZHNEV FOR COMMON EFFORT TO DEVELOP MEANINGFUL COMPROMISE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. HE SAID THAT IT WAS CONCEIVABLE THAT HE COULD GET INSTRUCTIONS TO MAKE A FEW MORE CHANGES IN HUMAN CONTACTS, BUT FRENCH WERE CONCERNED NOT TO OVERLOAD CIRCUIT. HE SAID THERE WAS NO NEED FOR MUCH IMPLEMENTATION LANGUAGE BECAUSE EVERYONE ALREADY KNEW RESULTS OF THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION CONDUCTED DURING FALL. HE SAID FRANCE DID NOT CONSIDER CBMS AN ALLIED ESSENTIAL, AND SOVIETS HAD MADE IT CLEAR THEY WOULD GIVE NOTHING IN THIS AREA. IF SOVIETS BEGAN TO MOVE THEN FRANCE COULD ACCEPT MORE, BUT IT WOULD NOT BURDEN ITS DRAFT.
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4. FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAID THAT FRENCH CONSIDERED WHAT THEY HAD IN THEIR DRAFT WAS ESSENTIAL MINIMUM IN FOUR KEY AREAS -- HUMAN RIGHTS, ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL, HUMAN CONTACTS, AND IMPLEMENTATION. THEY WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE DOWN FROM TEXT IN THESE AREAS. HE SAID HE HAD NO CLEAR INSTRUCTIONS ON POINT BUT BELIEVED THAT FRANCE AT THIS STAGE WOULD PREFER TO GO IT ALONE ON DRAFT SINCE IT WOULD BE EASIER FOR EAST TO WORK ON

SOMETHING THAT WASN'T A NATO PROPOSAL.HE SAID
FRENCH WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION IF ALLIES ATTEMPTED TO
STRENGTHEN FRENCH TEXT FROM FLOOR OR IF ONE OR MORE
ALLIES SUBMITTED OWN DOCUMENT.

5. ON ALLIED URGING, FRENCH AMBASSADOR AGREED TO
QUERY PARIS WHETHER THERE WAS STILL POSSIBILITY TO
BRING FRENCH DRAFT UP TO LEVEL ACCEPTABLE TO OTHER
ALLIES BEFORE IT IS TABLED. CAUCUS WILL RESUME AT 1630
TO LEARN WHETHER SUCH AN EFFORT CAN BE UNDERTAKEN.
IF FRENCH WILL NOT GO ALONG, MORE SUPPORT MAY
DEVELOP FOR IDEA OF U.S. FILING CAUCUS DRAFT (REF B).
IT IS APPARENT, HOWEVER, THAT MEMBERS OF THE EC
WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY ASSOCIATING THEMSELVES TOO
OPENLY WITH SUCH A DRAFT IN WHAT WOULD AMOUNT TO
CLEAR EXPRESSION OF DISAGREEMENT WITH FRANCE. CANADIAN
AND NORWEGIAN AMBASSADORS HAVE INDICATED TO US
PRIVATELY THAT IF FRENCH AND U.S. TEXTS WERE BOTH
ON TABLE, THEY WOULD PROBABLY SPONSOR NEITHER AND
PRAISE BOTH. FRG AMBASSADOR TOLD CAUCUS, HOWEVER,
THAT IF UNIMPROVED FRENCH DRAFT IS TABLED LATE TODAY,
HIS DEL WOULD SIT BACK AND SEE WHAT HAPPENED. HE
EXPECTED SOVIETS WOULD RESPOND NEGATIVELY. TIME
WOULD THEN COME EARLY NEXT WEEK, HE PREDICTED, IN
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WHICH IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO FILE CAUCUS TEXT WITH
BROAD SPONSORSHIP AS STATEMENT OF BASIC WESTERN
POSITION. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG HAS NOT INDICATED AS
YET TO ALLIES WHETHER, IF FRENCH REMAIN RIGID, U.S.
WOULD BE PREPARED TO FILE CAUCUS DRAFT ALONE TODAY
OR TOMORROW OR TO AWAIT SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY TO FILE
IT NEXT WEEK WITH LARGEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF COSPONSORS.
GOLDBERG

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